

Feudal JAPAN AB2

000 distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the
 * 648 problem arose of whether or not to execute the death
 682 sentence on the Otona Tashanishi of Kushiro who had
 671 killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired
 177 of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty
 * 175 should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in
 favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he
 were executed they would rebel.⁵¹ The magistrate's
 report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of
 Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a
 deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The
 offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by
 offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799,
 only a few months after the promulgation of the new
 laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form
 of a warning to the offender and an explanation that
 the new laws had not been in force long enough to be
 understood. The compensation was rejected as being
 against Bakufu policy.⁵² This incident leads to the
 conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult
 problem.⁵³

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

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* 648 The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to
 177 guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of
 * 175 the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from
 such a policy is another question. However, native
 guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove
 to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern
 of life. Those who desired to change customs were
 permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair
 styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style
 homes were given to industrious persons and their
 names were changed to sound as though they were
 Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae
 prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather,
 straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other
 hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited.
 In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the
 natives so that as much as possible their mode of living
 would look Japanese. It should be added that agricul-
 ture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo
 live on cereals instead of meat⁵⁴ while the traditions of
 Mekkakiri⁵⁵ and the bear festival were prohibited.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshilage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

⁵² Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no' gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshilage sôro (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the Otona of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), Kyumei Kôki, Suppl. 6, SHS 5: 786-787.

⁵³ Takakura Shinichirô, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), Hôritsu Shunjo 5 (4).

⁵⁴ Ezochi Goyoshuui shikaimuki môshiwasatari sôro.

⁵⁵ According to Hokkaidô Shi 1: 475, Mekkakiri was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called Mekkkauchi. Mekkka means "the back of a thing" and Uchi or Kiri probably

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On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned⁵⁷ while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.⁵⁸ The island of

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meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyo Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanajo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Aizu Keibatsu [Aizu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3)). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruijin* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

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⁵⁸ The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Aizu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Kuma matsuri no hanashi* [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

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⁵⁷ "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

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⁵⁸ "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 The hair of both men and women was cut off just
826 above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair,

as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people
302 were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon

this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was

● 765 not only allowed but actually commanded. They were
826 in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this

was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because

[776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU 11

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it ³⁰²
 be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; ⁷⁶⁵
 either he himself or some of his near relations will ⁸²⁶
 die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all ⁷⁷⁶
 therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when ⁵³⁹
 the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the
 people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband
 dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable.
 Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does
 not look sad and remain apart from other people, some-
 one might want to marry her and that would be a very
 bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to ⁵⁸⁷
 grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a
 husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands
 and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the
 grave.'" So taught Aeoins the Divine. But, although ¹⁷⁸
 superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in,
 so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly dis-
 appearing, for both young men and women now dress
 their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to ¹⁷¹
 remark that it is reported how Satan himself once ³⁰²
 preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick
 Church, in which he comforted his many servants by
 telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm
 could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the ¹⁴⁴
 general appearance of this people—one friend said to
 me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese
 some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I
 see no difference between them and the Japanese boys
 and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed
 out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what
 we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of
 course they resemble one another, as we find them
 doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of
 Japanese children has in past ages been one great way ⁵⁹⁷

764 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins.
184 I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in
this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and
Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu
there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest
and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it
sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was
a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about
his find and they determined to go at night and take
the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an
axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box,
"we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him
it served him right, for he had no more business to
attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his
nose through stealing grain out of another person's
granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead per-
son, but they never bury without placing a pole at the
foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen
any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite
within recent times, heard of graves being visited by
friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is
shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell
me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women
is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold
the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow
[587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger
brother of her lost husband or to remain single for
life, and a widower also in theory remained single till
he died, but in practice he would marry again in a
year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods
● [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut
their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of
mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. 764
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Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681
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The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so; as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [675]
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HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224
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796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the
Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would
seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and
the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of
the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting
used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boechmer
among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered
with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin.
Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of
generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and
very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat
like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next
morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the
swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a
couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them,
brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half
starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular
dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women
another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions.
Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then
there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for
the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighbor-
ing five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each
other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the
women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when
much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in
most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
539 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We
do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of
words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we
will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most
honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful,
the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

793 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
177 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be
very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of
their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence
has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (λ), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers ³⁰² are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides.

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her ⁹⁶⁵ head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again ³⁰² she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again.

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are ³⁰² never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such ³⁰⁴ a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed.

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when ⁵³⁹ the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race ³⁰⁴ of dwarfs—"the Koro-pok-kuru"—some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of

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holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).¹ No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives. 764 [481] [823]

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales. [765]•

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.² It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman. [823]

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the graveside, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

¹ It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

² It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

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782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
 778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
 764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
 776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are in-
 voked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the
 wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower
 hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil
 influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray.
 The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then
 taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
 [783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short
 distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been
 given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and
 to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east.
 There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu*
inau kamui.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
 778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it
 with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between
 the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
 by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
 [776] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,¹ that is to say
 [551] a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a
 dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or,
 sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part
 clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in per-
 forming the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for
 a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the
 mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed
 for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

● 765 *Rites and Customs After Burial*

While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the
 house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] ¹ *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
 [422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with
itolpa.—H.W.

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wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with 'fun!' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

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- 765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[778] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard, are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away *wen kamui*.

- [789] There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

779 Variants in Funeral Customs

- 775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

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Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

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184 formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no
302 longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may
[912] announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her
hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—"That does not
prevent it from growing again!"